

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: JA, PARM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL VISIT BACKGROUND PAPER XI: NPT

BACKGROUND

1. THE 1968 TREATY ON NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NPT) WAS SIGNED BY JAPAN IN FEBRUARY 1970. AT THAT TIME THE GOVERNMENT STATED THAT TREATY RATIFICATION WOULD DEPEND UPON A) ASSURANCE OF THE SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR POWERS; B) PROGRESS IN GENERAL DISARMAMENT; AND C) ASSURANCE OF SUBSTANTIAL EQUALITY WITH NUCLEAR STATES OF BENEFITS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY DEVELOPMENTS. THERE REMAINS SOME DISSATISFACTION IN JAPAN ON ALL THREE COUNTS. FURTHER OPPOSITION TO RATIFICATION STEMS FROM APPREHENSION IN INDUSTRIAL CIRCLES THAT A SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM UNDER INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA) AUSPICES WOULD JEOPARDIZE INDUSTRIAL SECRETS, AS WELL AS THE BELIEF IN SOME CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL CIRCLES THAT JAPAN SHOULD RETAIN THE "NUCLEAR OPTION" FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. FURTHER, DESPITE HIGH-LEVEL PUBLIC REAFFIRMATIONS OF STRONG US SUPPORT FOR NPT, THERE REMAINS WITHIN SOME INFLUENTIAL JAPANESE CIRCLES A PROFESSED UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE US VIEW TOWARD JAPAN'S RATIFICATION.

THE CURRENT STATUS

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2. ON THE BASIS OF PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE IAEA, THERE APPEAR TO BE NO MAJOR OBSTACLES TO THE NEGOTIATION OF AN IAEA-JAPAN SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT. THE UNDERSTANDING THAT JAPAN WILL BE TREATED ON EQUAL BASIS AS EURATOM HAS CONVERTED INDUSTRIAL CIRCLES INTO PROPONENTS OF RATIFYING NPT. INTRA-GOVERNMENTAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE DOMESTIC SAFEGUARD SYSTEM HAVE BEGUN. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOJ PERCEIVES THAT INDIA'S NUCLEAR EXPLOSION IN APRIL 1974 AND RECENT US OFFERS OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT CONTRIBUTED TO AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE OF NUCLEAR PROMISCUITY WHICH WILL MAKE IT ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN THE POLITICAL CONSENSUS REQUIRED FOR RATIFICATION.

3. IN HIS SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS SEPTEMBER, FONMIN KIMURA ANNOUNCED THAT JAPAN INTENDS TO PROCEED WITH NPT RATIFICATION AND CALLED FOR THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO STUDY MEASURES TO END NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ALSO ADVOCATED NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AMONG NUCLEAR POWERS AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR NON-NUCLEAR NATIONS. ON HIS RETURN TO JAPAN, FOREIGN MINISTER KIMURA TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE GOJ WOULD SUBMIT THE NPT TO THE DIET FOR RATIFICATION DURING THE NEXT REGULAR SESSION (DECEMBER 1974 TO APRIL 1975). THE GOVERNMENT ALSO HOPES TO NEGOTIATE A SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENT BEFORE THE FEBRUARY 1975 IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING AND TOO RATIFY THE NPT IN TIME TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MAY 1975 REVIEW CONFERENCE.

4. HOWEVER, EARLY RATIFICATION WILL BE HAMPERED BY THE WEAKNESS OF THE TANAKA GOVERNMENT WHICH MAKES IT HESITATE BEFORE PROCEEDING WITH ANY CONTROVERSIAL ACTION. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO FACE OPPOSITION BOTH BY THOSE WHO FAVOR "RETAINING THE NUCLEAR OPTION" AND OTHERS WHO THINK THAT JAPAN SHOULD BE VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT RATIFICATION AT LEAST UNTIL THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR SITUATION BECOMES CLARIFIED.

RECOMMENDED US POSITION

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5. A REAFFIRMATION, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, BY THE PRESIDENT DURING HIS VISIT TO JAPAN OF OUR CONTINUED STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE NPT, LINKED TO OUR VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF ARMS CONTROL, COULD IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR JAPAN'S RATIFICATION. IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, THE PRESIDENT MIGHT ALSO SHARE OUR THINKING ON MEANS FOR STRENGTHENING THE NPT REGIME TO PREVENT FURTHER PROLIFERATION, AND ON MEANS TO COUNTER THE

DEVELOPMENT, AS IN THE CASE OF INDIA, OF SO-CALLED PEACEFUL
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES.
HODGSON

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